

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 218296
ORIGIN ACDA-12

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY
USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SOFIA PRIORITY
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 218296

USSALTTWO/CTB

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, SOPN

SUBJECT: AUGUST 28 ROUNDUP: PRESS ITEMS OF ARMS CONTROL
INTEREST

LONDON FOR AMB/EX, SOFIA FOR AMBASSADOR

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STATE 218296

1. UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL REPORTED THAT GEN. MAXWELL
TAYLOR, FORMER JCS CHIEF, SAYS CHANCES ARE SO SLIM FOR
SENATE RATIFICATION OF ANY SALT AGREEMENT THIS YEAR THAT
IT MIGHT BE WISE TO WITHHOLD IT. REJECTION "WOULD BE
SERIOUS BLOW TO OUR ALREADY WEAKENED RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW,
CERTAIN TO EVOKE STORM OF RECRIMINATIONS AND CHARGES OF
BAD FAITH," TAYLOR SAID IN PAPER PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN

ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE. HE SAID HE DOUBTS U.S. AND USSR CAN REACH SALT AGREEMENT THAT WOULD BE RATIFIED BY CURRENT SENATE.

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2. UPI ALSO REPORTED THAT TWO LONG-TIME RIVALS, EUGENE ROSTOW AND FORMER SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT OVER PRESIDENT CARTER'S HANDLING OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS. "BOTH ARE HIGHLY CRITICAL," UPI SAID. IN PAPER PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, FULBRIGHT SAID AFTER ANALYZING CARTER'S SPEECHES HE CONCLUDED THAT WHITE HOUSE "HAS BEEN AMBIVALENT IN ITS APPROACH TO SALT, AS IT

HAS IN ITS ENTIRE APPROACH TO DETENTE," AND CARTER HAS BEEN "REINFORCING COLD WAR ATTITUDES OF FEAR AND MISTRUST OF SOVIET INTENTIONS." UPI SAID ROSTOW, "AN UNABASHED HAWK," DECLARED IN PAPER PUBLISHED BY COMMITTEE ON PRESENT DANGER THAT CARTER HAS STOPPED OR SLOWED ALL NEW U.S. WEAPONS SYSTEMS WHILE USSR KEEPS EXPANDING ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL.

3. KENNETH ADELMAN, WRITING IN WALL STREET JOURNAL, ASSERTED THAT "REGARDLESS OF SENATE'S RESPONSE BEFORE FINAL CURTAIN FALLS, SALT TWO IS DESTINED TO BECOME LAST ACT IN CURRENT ERA OF NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS. CARTER ADMINISTRATION MAY PROFESS THAT RATIFICATION OF SALT TWO IS ESSENTIAL FOR REALLY SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL MEASURES ANTICL-

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 218296

PATED FOR SALT THREE. BUT IT CANNOT STOP TRAIN OF HISTORY, WHICH PRECLUDES SALT THREE PER SE. TECHNOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL FORCES COMPEL NEW GENERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS, ONE QUITE DISTINCT FROM SALT ONE AND TWO ON THREE KEY ASPECTS." FIRST, HE SAID, MEASUREMENTS OF U.S.-SOVIET STRATEGIC FORCES MUST BE ALTERED. IN SALT ONE AND TWO, NUCLEAR LAUNCH VEHICLES REPRESENTED PRIMARY MEASURE OF STRATEGIC STRENGTH. "THIS WAS QUITE CONVENIENT SINCE SATELLITE PHOTOGRAPHY COULD VERIFY TREATY BASED ON THIS ONE ELEMENT," ADELMAN SAID. "STRATEGIC MIGHT, HOWEVER, CAN NO LONGER BE COMFORTABLY EQUATED WITH THIS SINGLE MEASURE.... IT IS SAD BUT TRUE THAT WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY IS OUTPACING CAPABILITIES OF ACCEPTABLE INTELLIGENCE MEANS TO MONITOR STRATEGIC SYSTEMS." SECOND, HE ADDED, TYPES OF WEAPONS INCLUDED IN NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE EXPANDED TO ENCOMPASS THOSE BASED IN OR TARGETING WESTERN EUROPE. "THIRD, NUMBER OF ACTORS ON STAGE OF NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS MUST LIKEWISE BE ENLARGED.... INCLUSION IN ANY SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS OF 'GRAY AREA' SYSTEMS, WHICH EVEN MORE DIRECTLY AFFECT THEIR FATE, WOULD OBLIGE ON-STAGE EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION." ADELMAN SAID MANY "WOULD JUSTIFIABLY LAMENT LOSS OF CONTINUAL, HIGH-LEVEL FORUM

FOR SUPERPOWERS TO DISCUSS THIS CRITICAL TOPIC," BUT "INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE WOULD BE HEALTHIER, THOUGH DECIDEDLY NOT CHEERIER, WITHOUT SANCTIFICATION OF SALT.... BURIAL OF SALT WOULD RESURRECT U.S. STRATEGIC PROGRAMS AS FIRST AND FOREMOST MATTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND NOT PRIMARILY ONE OF ARMS CONTROL." ADELMAN WAS ASSISTANT TO DEFENSE SECRETARY FROM 1975 TO 1976 AND CURRENTLY IS CONSULTANT TO STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

4. BERNARD GWERTZMAN, IN SPECIAL TO WASHINGTON STAR REPORTED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS "QUIETLY AGREED TO LISTEN TO ARGUMENTS OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN OPPONENTS" OF CTB AND REVIEW HIS PREVIOUS DECISION TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 218296

FIVE-YEAR BAN ON ALL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. GWERTZMAN SAID PRESIDENT HAD BEEN UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM JCS AND ENERGY DEPARTMENT. "AS RESULT OF DECISION TO REVIEW NEGOTIATING SITUATION, ARMS CONTROL OFFICIALS SAID ADDITIONAL UNCERTAINTY HAS BEEN ADDED TO ALREADY COMPLEX TALKS THAT ARE VIEWED BY OFFICIALS AS SECOND ONLY TO STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS IN IMPORTANCE," GWERTZMAN REPORTED. OFFICIALS STRESSED, HE SAID, THAT IN AGREEING TO REVIEW HIS INSTRUCTIONS, CARTER WAS NOT NECESSARILY ALTERING HIS PREVIOUS SUPPORT FOR ACDA AND STATE DEPARTMENT, WHICH HAD URGED FIVE-YEAR BAN.

5. SYNDICATED COLUMNISTS ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK, WRITING IN WASHINGTON POST, SAID PRESIDENT'S "NEW GET TOUGH POLICY" SURFACED IN CONFIDENTIAL AUG. 7 MEMO TO DEFENSE SECRETARY BROWN DEMANDING "COMPLETE AND UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT" BY JCS FOR TREATY ESTABLISHING NUCLEAR FREE ZONE AROUND LATIN AMERICA. EVANS AND NOVAK SAID BRZEZINSKI MEMO WAS 'FIRST MOVE IN CLAMPDOWN TO END WHAT ONE CARTER AIDE CALLS "GUERRILLA WARFARE" AGAINST PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICIES -- PARTICULARLY FROM ACDA AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENT. PENTAGON IS NOT EXEMPT.... AS ONE ADVISER SAID: 'TO GET TOUGH WITH ACDA, WE HAVE TO APPLY SAME RULE TO PENTAGON.... CRITICISM OF PAUL WARNKE'S ACDA HAS BEEN SMOLDERING FOR MONTHS. IT STARTED IN JANUARY WHEN WARNKE WROTE CONFIDENTIAL LETTER -- SOON LEAKED -- TO SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE OPPOSING ADVANCED FIGHTER PLANES FOR SAUDI ARABIA AND ISRAEL. ALTHOUGH WARNKE'S LETTER SAID HE COULD SUPPORT SALE FOR 'POLITICAL' REASONS, WHITE HOUSE AIDES SMELLED SABOTAGE OF CARTER'S MOST IMPORTANT MIDEAST INITIATIVE AT TIME. TODAY ACDA IS LOSING ONE OF HOTTEST BATTLES IN WASHINGTON: CTB TREATY. CARTER IS SWITCHING FROM EARLY SUPPORT OF

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 218296

WARNKE'S PROPOSED FIVE-YEAR ZERO-YIELD TEST BAN TO TREATY GIVING U.S. PROTECTION AGAINST SOVIET CHEATING. IN OLD DAYS, BEFORE NEW ERA OF CONFORMITY, WARNKE'S ACDA WOULD BE PLOTTING BATTLE OF POLITICAL SUBVERSION WITH SPEECHES, LEAKS AND CAPITOL HILL PLANTS TO SOFTEN UP PRESIDENT. IT WAS EASY THEN. TODAY IT MIGHT BE SUICIDAL."

6. STAFF WRITER ROBERT KAISER RECALLED THAT WASHINGTON POST REPORTED IN MAY THAT WHITE HOUSE "WAS TOYING" WITH IDEA OF SUBMITTING ALL OR PART OF NEW SALT PACTS AS EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS NOT AS TREATY. "THIS IDEA WAS ADVANCED BY POLITICAL OPERATIVES IN WHITE HOUSE WHO FELT THAT BITTER FIGHT OVER PANAMA CANAL TREATIES (WHICH CARRIED BY TWO SENATE VOTES) SHOULD BE AVOIDED IF POSSIBLE ON SALT, SOURCES SAID.... OTHER OFFICIALS ARGUED STRONGLY THAT IT WAS BAD IDEA TO CONSIDER AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT, BUT

PRESIDENT CARTER WAS TAKEN WITH IDEA, ACCORDING TO INFORMED SOURCES. ABOUT MONTH AGO PRESIDENT INSTRUCTED U.S. NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA TO ADD AN ASTERISK TO WORD 'TREATY' WHENEVER IT APPEARED IN DOCUMENTS UNDER NEGOTIATION. ASTERISK SHOULD REFER TO NOTE EXPLAINING THAT DOCUMENTS MIGHT BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS AS AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT, NOT AS TREATY." KAISER SAID SENATOR HENRY JACKSON APPARENTLY LEARNED OF THESE INSTRUCTIONS AND WROTE WHAT ONE OFFICIAL CALLED "BLISTERING LETTER" TO CARTER WARNING HIM NOT TO TRY TO EVADE NORMAL TREATY APPROVAL PROCESS IN SENATE." KAISER SAID ONE IDEA WAS TO SUBMIT MOST CONTROVERSIAL DOCUMENT OF THREE CURRENTLY BEING NEGOTIATED -- PROTOCOL GOVERNING MODERNIZATION OF OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC WEAPONS -- AS AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT, WHILE OFFERING LESS CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS AS TREATY. HE SAID SENATE MAJORITY LEADER ROBERT BYRD AND OTHER SENATORS WHO DENOUNCED EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT NOTION "APPARENTLY KILLED ANY CHANCE FOR SUCH GAMBIT., IN WYOMING, PRESS SECRETARY JODY POWELL SAID PRESIDENT WAS EXPLORING USE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 218296

OF AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT INSTEAD OF TREATY ON SALT ALTHOUGH NO DECISION HAD BEEN MADE. HE SAID USE OF AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS "VALID OPTION. THERE IS NO REASON TO CLOSE OUT ANY OPTION AT THIS TIME. THERE ARE GOOD ARGUMENTS BOTH WAYS." CHRISTOPHER

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